1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

Following birth the baby is not fed for one day and is then put to the mother's breast. 846
The parturient usually remains in bed for four days to a week, and during this period her husband or grown daughters take over the household duties. In summer a mother may be seen carrying her infant thro[illegible]own within two weeks after delivery and by this time she has also resumed most of her customary duties (Plate 4, c).

Children born out of wedlock or conceived in adulterous sexual relations are regarded 848
as illegitimate. All illegitimacy is deplored, but the incidence of premarital motherhood appears to be quite low. The child of an unmarried mother may be cared for by the girl herself or entrusted to the care of grandparents. Once illegitimate children are grown, their status is not different from that of other persons and no evidence of discrimination against them could be observed.

The only two cases observed of extreme rejection of infants involved illegitimate chil- 848
dren. Irene Wiley gave birth to Irma a short time after she had been deserted by her hus- 854
band, who disapproved of her promiscuity. She did not want the infant, neglected its feeding and care, and often abandoned it in her mosquito tent for long periods while she went riding with soldiers. One cold night in August, 1944, Irene's father's brother's wife found the eight months old baby uncovered and so cold that it had to be washed with warm water. Although news of this incident reached the police, who publicly reprimanded the 426
mother at a dance, Irene did not improve her care of the infant. Commenting on the child Louis Man once observed: "That baby raise himself. Nobody take care of him. Mother don't care. Never change him . . . Some people tough. Me, I can't do that." River Joe, Irene's paternal uncle, said: "My heart sick I hear that baby cry. Sometime I take care of him." The extent of his care, so far as could be observed, consisted of occasionally feeding Irma sugar cookies. In 1945, when Irma was about two years old and retarded in her development, Irene began to manifest somewhat more attention toward the child.

A second instance of a young mother neglecting her newborn illegitimate infant oc- 848
curred after the native woman's husband had refused to permit her to keep the child. 851
Although the putative father, a married man, was easily identifiable, no effort was made to 854
induce this man to accept responsibility. Instead both parents left the baby in a tent at Lower Post while they went to visit friends two hundred miles up Dease River. The child was subsequently cared for by the mother's sister and later somewhat reluctantly adopted 847
by its maternal grandmother. For her behavior the mother is reported to have been censured 826
by the Indian Agent during his visit to Lower Post.

Children are usually named soon after birth, a Christian saint's name being decided 553
upon by the parents or suggested by the missionary if the baby is brought for baptism. Sometimes naming is neglected for several months after birth. If, during this time, a friend suggests an appropriate name it will be adopted by one or the other parent. Thus the ethnographer named Nitla's baby during the summer of 1945. In addition to a formal personal name, a family occasionally coins a nick-name for a child, but the range of such names is limited. Two common English nicknames are Boss and Piggy.

Children born in Lower Post are usually brought to the mission a few weeks after birth 851
for baptism. The ceremony is little emphasized by the parents and is often delayed until the matter is pressed upon their attention by the priest.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

853 Infants are breast fed, occasionally receiving supplementary bottles. No rationalization for the extra feeding could be obtained. A large variety of bottles are used for this purpose including, besides the regular nursing variety, beer bottles and even small perfume bottles with a mouth wide enough to fit the rubber nipples locally purchased.

Sucking is a casual process of which the woman exhibits little concern. A young infant is nursed outdoors, in traders' stores, and in church whenever it frets or cries. Whereas a baby nurses as it reclines in the mother's lap, an older child, who can hold itself erect, often suckles as it perches on the mother's knee while the latter is eating, idling, or even carrying out such tasks as scraping moosehide (Plate 8, a). No fondling of babies was observed during the nursing situation. An older child may signal its desire to nurse by touching the mother's breast or, if it can crawl or toddle, pull aside the nursing mother's loosely fastened dress. It is recognized that a mother's milk is affected by her diet. Most often, particularly for a small infant, the supplementary bottle is held by the mother, but sometimes it is tilted on the baby's body supported by a light pillow or folded blanket. The contents of a bottle are warmed for a young baby.

862 Weaning from the breast generally occurs before two years, but some children nurse until they are three years old. Earlier weaning occurs when a baby is displaced by the birth of a sibling. However even young babies are given a solid piece of meat or fat to suck, and the amount of solid food gradually assumes a larger place in the baby's diet as weaning approaches. During weaning, milk continues to be served in both the bottle and cup. Crying for the breast leads the mother to pick up the baby and carry it, but if this does not lead to soothing, nursing is permitted. An older child who remains persistent in his attempts to nurse may be mildly criticized and teased about his infantile habits. Pacifiers are also used in weaning. Weaning is not abrupt and most children appear satisfied to accept the bottle as a substitute for the breast.

858 Kaska society is infant centered. This is brought out in the ready affection and attention 181 devoted to babies. It is also illustrated by the fact that in this society it is not an older sibling who cares for the infant while the mother does the housework. Rather the reverse holds true; a woman with a nearly adolescent daughter has little to do but take care of a young baby. Often even the lap baby is left to the care of the older sibling, while the mother devotes all her time to the infant. Ideally children are desired and, unless there are too many of the same sex, there is no preference for either boys or girls.

854 Bodily care of the infant is manifested in diapering, washing, clothing, and packing. Diaper cloths are pieces of flannel of various sizes. About seven or ten layers of such material are laid out and the child placed in the center. These cloths are then passed between the baby's legs and pinned at the sides. Sometimes a layer of dry moss is placed in the center of a single piece of material to aid in absorbing the infant's excreta. Diaper cloths are changed when the outermost layer becomes damp. In addition to these cloths, the newborn wears an undershirt and dress, blouse, or rompers. He is generally closely bundled in a clean blanket which is snugly passed around the body so that the legs lie straight together. In warm weather the hands are exposed (Plate 4, c). While the infant sleeps, the blanket is loosely thrown over his face. With this binding the child is placed in the baby pack and carried on the mother's back. After a few months, blanketing is replaced by rompers, overalls or a

1: Honigmann K-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

long dress, and a sweater. Long cotton ribbed stockings (essential for summer protection against flies, mosquitoes, and other insects) and diminutive moccasins complete the costume. The head is covered with an embroidered cap. Diaper cloths continue to be used until the child is about a year old. In the morning and at night the baby is washed with warm water. 854

A fancy baby pack is sometimes made of velvet and wrapped around the baby in a manner similar to the blankets. Along one side and at the bottom the bag is fitted with lacing. The material of the pouch is bound tightly around the infant whose head is kept covered with a cap or with an inner blanket. The sack is supported on the woman's back in a wide shawl, but not by shoulder straps. When packed in this way, the baby faces the mother and often leans forward on the mother's back or shoulder while sleeping. 854 482

Baby packs are used only a relatively short time. By the time the baby is about six months old, the velvet bag has been discontinued in favor of a shawl or blanket in which the infant is bound as it sits astride the mother's back (Plate 4, a). This packing is used when the mother is traveling and also when she is working around camp. Older siblings or young aunts may also pack small children in this fashion. Older children are sometimes carried facing the mother in packsacks such as are used to carry meat and other supplies. These containers are fitted with holes through which the feet can extend. Sometimes an ingenious pack is made of canvas or ticking cut like coveralls with long trousers but lacking sleeves. This pack, used for children from two to four years old, is supplied with carrying straps that pass over the mother's shoulder. In such a container the child also faces the mother. Beyond the age of six months the mother begins to carry the baby in her arm or on her hip as she moves around camp. Sometimes a shawl extending around the mother's shoulder is used to support a baby astride the hip, but usually the only support is the mother's arm.

Children are always content on the mother's back, never kicking or squirming. Much of the day the year old baby is left free to crawl around the camp or cabin but always under the watchful eye of the mother. At night it generally sleeps with the mother; sometimes, however, a small child is placed in a hammock of blankets which is suspended over the parents' bedding. A baby is always laid on its back, never on the stomach. 854

Another aspect of infant care, protection, is illustrated by the mother's reluctance to leave a small baby alone. Small babies are rarely left in another person's care for more than a few hours. Even though the child could be cared for by an aunt or grandmother, most mothers will not leave camp to travel any distance and allow an infant to remain behind.

Up to about two years of age the baby is rarely or never punished and is the recipient of considerable attention, not only from the mother but also from its father, siblings, grandparents, and aunts. Although, as we have pointed out, the Kaska are an emotionally unexpressive people, they do demonstrate considerable affection toward the neonate and infant. A number of terms are employed to express devotion toward young children. Two of these are, tena arnaze ("little man") and mamaze ("little mother"). Babies are rarely permitted to cry without some relative making an attempt to comfort or distract them. Emotionally expressive behavior toward babies includes bouncing the infant in the arms or on the back, smoothing its fingers, cuddling, holding its face close to the adult's, kissing the cheeks, uttering nonsense syllables, and praising it with kinship terms, like "my younger brother." [551]

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

854 Fathers are also seen handling and playing with babies, and often refer to their young offspring with pride. Despite these patterns of good infant care and unstinted attention to the [865] baby, occasional instances were observed where mothers slapped or roughly shook restless and fretful year old babies.

856 Unless the expected course of maturation fails to appear, parents manifest only casual interest in promoting an infant's development. Occasionally a mother will seek to support a young baby in an upright position. Only once were parents seen walking while supporting a fifteen month old between them. The removal of the half-year old child from the baby pack or from tightly bound blankets also affords the child an opportunity to develop through exercise. While the appearance of the first teeth is noted by parents, little attention is focused on this phase of development. No attempt is made to discourage finger sucking nor is this behavior much manifested by babies. Attitudes toward infantile sexuality were not observed or reported. In its early years, of course, a baby, being closely bound and heavily diapered, has little opportunity to explore its genitals.

Childhood

856 The transition from infancy to childhood among the Kaska is informally recognized as occurring at between three and four years of age, when the child becomes "half smart." As is customary in child study, we shall anticipate this transition somewhat and refer to childhood as that period of life which follows shortly after the infant has taken its first steps and which terminates with the onset of puberty.

863 Although the first attention to sphincter control comes between one and two years of age, it is never harshly introduced at this time nor is it seriously expected to take hold so early. At that time, especially if it is summer, diaper cloths are abandoned and the mother begins to take the child with her when she goes into the bush for her own needs. Verbal explanation and encouragement are little used while the child is so young. As explained by one mother of six children, the toddler is expected to wet himself. "That time he wet his pants. Pretty soon I take him to toilet. Pretty soon he tell me." Scolding was denied. "I never say nothing. He learn himself." In summer the eighteen month to two year old child is allowed to play without pants or with pants (or bloomers) in which a long slit has been cut in the crotch. This device permits him to eliminate without soiling his clothes. Another practice is to don the child's moccasins as soon as he wakes in the morning and send him outside the house to urinate. Ideally parents also recognize the advantage of preventing the youngster from drinking any liquids during the hours immediately preceding bedtime.

No serious notice is taken of wetting or soiling before two and a half or three years of age. Even four years is sometimes tolerantly regarded as too early an age at which to demand complete cleanliness training, and often children continue to wet at night until this age. Generally, however, the child is expected to be trained at three and from then on begins to be scolded for daytime failures. "Look you dirty boy," Dorothy Plover said to three year old David before she changed him, "You dirty your pants." Some parents also introduce spanking at this time to enforce sphincter control. When enuresis occurs in older children, the sleeping place of the child may be padded with moss which is discarded every morning. Together with learning habits of sphincter control, the child also acquires certain attitudes

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

ing interpersonal relations which promise to stir up intense emotions or invite excessive effort against which there are no effective safeguards and which tax the resources of the ego.

Two divergent attitudes toward the self, self-reliance and helplessness, complement the double view of the world in Kaska personality. The most acceptable is the notion of self-confidence that seems to say: "I can do this, but I must do it alone." The independence and self-containment involved in this formula partly rest on feelings of being socially detached, lonely, and afraid. To deny these anxious notes, a person must prove his effectiveness lest by failure he admit his need for social support.

Completely inacceptable is the idea of personal helplessness, the doubt that promises failure and which urges the person to relax from striving. In life's critical situations—and these are frequent and inevitable for an uncertain personality—the responsible feelings of the individual, to his great dismay, quickly give ground. There ensues a blind reaching out for all the things that are equivalent to failure—relaxation from striving, affection, and protection. The person is touched with guilt for his helplessness and threatened by anxiety which he dares not release for fear of further imperiling his safety. So long as the Kaska can contain their physical and social environmental participation within narrow limits, they feel resourceful, capable, and safe; trouble is avoided; life is simple, and the individual is supreme. As soon as the protective boundaries are upset, however, there follows a wave of worry and anxiety that signifies the penalty of failure.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE ETHOS

Our study of Kaska ethos now concerns itself with the development of the dominant motivations in which this system has its roots. In pursuing this aim we find it more significant to concentrate on how learning takes place than on the cultural content which is transmitted by direct learning, although explicit instruction which reinforces dominant motivations will not be neglected. In the words of Bateson and Mead, our assumption is that, "An individual's character structure, his attitudes toward himself and his interpretation of experience are conditioned not only by what he learns, but also by the method of learning."[28] For this analysis, the most significant aspects of socialization may be grouped under five headings: infant care, emotional rejection, parental attitudes and authority, identifications, and activities of later childhood.

Infant care. A newborn infant occupies an extremely favorable position in Kaska society. The baby is carefully kept warm and comfortable and fed whenever it cries. Crying also brings a quick response in the way of other comforts and attention. The early relationship between mother and child is a warm one and during the first two years of life the child is usually in close proximity to its mother, although the manner of blanketing the infant permits little direct contact between the mother's arms and the baby's naked body. Weaning is gradual and tolerant, the satisfactions of suckling being prolonged by continuing to allow nursing from a bottle once weaning is terminated. Punishment is as rare in the baby's life as attention is plentiful.

What are the effects of these patterns of infant care in the personality of the developing

[28] Bateson and Mead, *Balinese Character* (1942), 84. Also see above, p. 15.

1: Honigmann E-S (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

child and adult? Good maternal care in infancy, by gratifying the child's craving for physical comfort and alimentary needs, may be considered the initial stimulus for the development of feelings of mastery and control and to instill confidence for later investigating and dealing with the external world. It is therefore the basis for the development of egocentricity and self-sufficiency, the self-assertive motives of Kaska personality, which determine the emotional significance of many adaptive situations. The prompt satisfactions produced by crying also condition the child to expectations of being able to control his environment resourcefully, capably, and empirically. In other words, good care in childhood is a strong stimulus for developing the executive functions of the ego. The cherished position of the Kaska baby is responsible for creating active coping techniques in the personality, which later become expressed in attitudes toward the world and self characterized by self-confidence, independence, and ego strength.

On the other hand, as Kardiner has pointed out, a readiness for passive forms of adaptation and adjustment is one of the "bad effects" of good maternal care.[87] Such passivity results primarily from the infant's unconscious idealization of the mother as a powerful and resourceful figure. The satisfactions of Kaska infancy, kinaesthetic and oral, are well nigh complete and extremely gratifying. Their very fullness sets the stage for an unconscious attraction to this period of easy gratification. In later life passive reactions occur when, under situations of stress and crisis, the person unconsciously attempts to restore the omnipotence which maternal gratification encouraged in the very early years of life. The appearance of passive adaptive and passive receptive techniques, in which the person surrenders active striving, are therefore indices of an unconscious process called regression.

Thus we see that in the state of infancy Kaska society begins to shape both the relatively assertive and the passive coping techniques of the personality. It endows the personality with a capacity for mastery and accomplishment by inducing confidence in the self to command the resources of the environment. On the other hand, indulgent care creates a readiness to relinquish such techniques when, under conditions of stress, the ego no longer feels capable of achieving its goals. At what level of aspiration that stress will induce passivity seems to depend largely upon the development of personality beyond infancy.

Emotional rejection. Although the Kaska child receives a good start in life, this favorable situation is soon interrupted when the emotionally isolating tendencies of early childhood are instituted by the hitherto indulgent mother. At about two or three years of age the child begins to be denied the emotional warmth and generous attention to which he has been accustomed. He still receives sufficient nourishment, so long as good food is available in camp, but affectionally he is rejected; attention is withdrawn, fondling and playing with the child discontinued, the mother withdraws into impersonal aloofness. Following upon the initial period of extreme gratification these new attitudes are exceedingly traumatic for development. The self-confident expectations which the child was encouraged to experience toward the world are suddenly disappointed; his capacities for securing comfort and attention fail. There follow feelings of abandonment, of being, reduced to struggling for satisfactions and creating comforts. The consequences of emotional isolation include the blocked

[87] Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (1945), 345; 347–348.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

development of active forms of mastery, affect hunger, institution of the first regressive trends, development of emotional aloofness, and the creation of various projective systems organized to deal with the persistent traumatic effects of this situation. We will now discuss these effects in greater detail.

We have emphasized the importance of good infant care in Kaska society for developing security and encouraging capacities for self-assertion and mastery. Such results are not only derived from social responsiveness to the child's bodily needs but are also built up in the process of inducing affection. The combined effect of these gratifications is to stimulate a congenial view of the world and faith in the self. When affectional stimulation is interrupted by the mother's emotional rejection, the development of the self-assertive aims receives a setback. Although the initial impetus to activity permits a conscious compensatory development of ego striving to continue (this will be discussed below), the removal of the heartening stimuli to such growth leaves ego strength in a precarious position, which in later life leads to narrowing the field of effective participation and strong readiness to succumb to crises with passivity and regression.

Emotional rejection institutes the first regressive trends because it intensifies the memory of infantile omnipotence. The highlighting of a past and more favorable period of adjustment, together with a simultaneous blow to ego development, help institute a chronic dependence that continues to underlie all forms of active mastery. Affect hunger is one feature of this phenomenon. Emotional rejection leaves the Kaska individual unable to form close emotional attachments for two main reasons. In the first place it must be remembered that the expression of love requires inducement; that is, it must be stimulated by the experience of being loved. When such indirect learning is early discontinued, as it is when the three year old is emotionally rejected, the individual is left without sufficient capacity to cathect love objects. He has not been sufficiently prepared for love. Second, emotional responsiveness may be inhibited by serious affectional disappointments encountered in the course of development. The Kaska child meets such disappointment when expected affectional gratification is abruptly withdrawn by the primary source of this reward—the mother. The seriousness of this withdrawal is reflected in the prolonged trauma that characterizes Kaska personality. As a result of that shock, the child becomes afraid ever again to lose his identity in strong love relationships which might once more be destroyed at the individual's expense. Both these factors help to institute emotional aloofness, leading the person to regard with fear all strong love relationships while at the same time he longs for a return to the period when affectional gratification was abundantly available. Realistically, regression is impossible; so the person comes to perceive one avenue of safety in the maintenance of personal inviolability and self-sufficiency. What happens is that emotional rejection secondarily reinforces the earlier patterned egocentric aim of mastery—independence comes to be valued as an active defense. The fact that such an assertive defense system can be patterned testifies to the importance of good infantile care for developing sufficient ego strength to institute such defenses. But emotional rejection also sets the stage for passive receptive techniques, which represent attempted or symbolic regression to the gratifications that were effortlessly available in infancy. Stealing and food leeching in childhood, the earliest ethological expression of this regressive process, originate from the child's awareness that

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PARENTS AND CHILDREN

[END PLATE 4]

844 by the Tahltan and neighbouring tribes. They knew, however, that head deformation was practised by tribes on the coast living south of the Tlinget and Haida.

● 854 844 Also unintentional flattening of infants' heads was hardly possible as no boards or cradles were used like those of Indian tribes to the south, such as the Salish and others.

854 846 The newly-born infant was first wrapped up in fur to exclude the air and keep it warm. Some short time afterwards it was washed in warm water, then wrapped in a small rabbit skin blanket and placed in a

854 bag or baby carrier of dressed skin. When it became a little stronger and answered the calls of nature dry soft moss was put between its legs to absorb all moisture and keep the baby clean. This moss was changed three or four times a day or oftener.

The pad of moss was held in place by a soft breech clout of marmot or other skin in the hair. (see National Museum Specimen No. 46)

The most common kind of moss used was that called baby moss (Sphagnum). Women about to be confined often gathered and stored up a lot of this kind of moss beforehand. Failing this moss, two or three other kinds of soft moss were used. If no proper moss was obtainable, as happened in rare instances, dry soft rotten wood was used. After childbirth the mother was

other was likely to die soon as both were considered to have, as it were, one breath. They were almost as halves of a whole. 845

Carriers As already stated, babies were placed in bags or baby carriers. Hammocks were also used but no board carriers or cradles of wood, bark, basketry, etc. The carriers of the Tahltan consisted of large pieces of dressed leather of caribou or moose which could be folded and fastened so as to form a bag when the child was to be carried abroad. When in the house the carrier was ganerally unfolded for the greater convenience of the mother attending to the infant. The folds of the carrier formed a covering or blanket for the infant, who was further covered with robes, etc., as occasion required. Carriers were of two general styles. Those used for very young children consisted of a piece of skin almost square and amply large to fold around the child. It was folded across the child's body first from one side and then the other and fastened tightly with the strings sewed to the skin at the proper places. The folds overlapped in front forming a double covering there. The doubled end was then folded up over the child's legs and fastened with tie strings to the lower front of the body. The top of the skin was equal in height to the child's neck or head or extended above the head if desired. Often the top was foldod so as to 854 482

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cover the head entirely, the face only being left open. Sometimes the skin was cut narrower at the top and sewed together there so as to form a hood which protected all the child's head and face. In this case the child when being encased in the carrier was placed on its back with its head inside the hood part and the carrier was then folded around the body and legs of the child as already described. Some of the carriers for infants had no tie strings to fasten up the bottom part to the body; in this case the foot part (sometimes exceptionally long) was folded up first and the sides folded across on the top and fastened, thus holding the foot part also in place. These bags, carriers, or folded robes for children were provided with loops of thong at the back, one on each side about level with the shoulders of the infant. To these, the ends of the pack strap for carrying the baby were fastened. Some had two sets of loops for attachment of straps, for use over both the mother's head or shoulders. Most women used the straps over their head or forehead. As may be supposed the child was carried vertically with its back towards the mother's back. In all cases the baby was wrapped in a fur blanket before being enclosed in the carrier. This fur blanket was next the baby, whether in bed, in the house or carried. (see National Museum Specimen No. 47.)

The other style of carrier in vogue among the Tahltan was for older children. It also was of caribou or moose leather. This bag was made a little larger than the size of the child, and in construction was a little more like a real carrier. The upper edges of the piece of skin were sewed together to form a hood over the child's head. The lower part of the skin was divided in three by two cuts reaching about one third up the bag. These cuts were parallel and only a few inches apart. Narrow strip in the middle and wide strips at each side. The latter were sewed up into legs closed at the ends or feet. The narrow strip of flap was folded up over the abdomen of the child helping to keep the child's pad in place. The sides of the bag were folded over the front of the child's body and fastened with tie strings which also passed over the folded-up flap or breech piece preventing it from slipping down. Some bags had an extra piece (or pieces) sewed to the side to better cover the front of the child. These bags were also provided with loops for attachment of the pack strap. Many bags had special pack straps attached to them permanently.

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Baby carriers were not ornamented very much. Some had pinking around the edges of the skin and fringes along seams if there were any. Piping of red or blue cloth were sometimes used in seams in later

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times. Seams were also painted with red paints. Some carriers of late have been ornamented with narrow stripes of different colored cloth or braid sewed on to the skin. (see National Museum Specimen No. 47.)

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Larger children were frequently carried on the woman's back enclosed in her robe. In this case no carriers were used. The child sat on the mother's back /with his/ face towards her and legs on each side of her waist. The robe, blanket, or shawl passing over the mother's shoulders and fastened tightly around her waist supported as well as covered the child.

"Conduits" As a rule a new carrier was made for each child. A few families, however, were not particular about this, and used the same carrier for more than one or several of their children.

The Tahltan say that regular carriers of stiff materials were used by the Tlingit because they wanted their children to have straight strong backs and be of good appearance when adults. They cared nothing about the legs. On the other hand, the Tahltan cared little about the back. They wanted leg development in their children. They desired that they have long strong legs and be good walkers.

Conduits of bark, wood, or skin common in carriers of the Interior Salish were not used by the Tahltan and neighboring tribes.

treatment by them was unknown. On the whole their children were docile and obedient. Mothers often sang to their young children (infants to about six years old) and composed songs to them. These songs expressed their love, pity, admiration and solicitude for them and some of them were full of pathos. Some mothers consider they honor their children in the eyes of others by composing songs to them, and exceptional mothers have composed ditties to each child. These songs were also sometimes used as lullabies to soothe and put children to sleep. The airs of these songs are sometimes taken by other people and used for other occasions, and their origin becomes lost. 855 855 533

The following are customs in connection with children. It was believed the souls or lives of infants were only slightly connected with their bodies and therefore care was exercised that the two did not become detached. Some women when carrying their infants away from the camp or house commenced to call a.nē, "come on", to the baby's soul or spirit the moment they left the camp, and continued to do this the first half mile or so they traveled. This was done in case the child's soul wanted to stay in camp and would not go with the body. Also whenever she crossed water, the mother dropped small bunches of brush in the water and called "come" to the child's spirit. This was done even if 854 774

854 the water to be crossed was only a foot wide. It was
774 believed the baby's spirit was afraid of water and would not cross with the body excepting this was done. Even if the spirit was in the baby and not following it when the water was reached it might through fear leave the baby when the water was crossed. Care was exercised thus with children until they were strong enough to walk or at least to sit up. After they had passed the most helpless stage of infancy, there was less danger, as the soul by this time had become used to the body and was more satisfied to dwell in it. The body and soul had become more adapted to each other and had commenced to function as one being, or at least be in unity.

789 If a child cried much at times or was, as it
854 were, naturally a cry-baby, the mother made a little image in human form of grass with legs, arms, head, etc., and placed it next the baby's breast or heart for about four days. The first day hereafter when the father went hunting he tied a string to this image and trailed it behind him as he went along. When he had gone some distance into the woods he concealed the image by covering it entirely with dry leaves. If this did not entirely succeed in changing the baby's disposition the same thing was repeated again, and the baby then ceased all excessive crying.

At repeated (often frequent) intervals during the first to fourth year of a child's life the father prayed over his child. With his hand he stroked its naked body, then holding his hand palm up, towards the Day Dawn, he blew along it as if blowing something off the palm. At the same time he prayed aloud (to the Day Dawn) saying, if the child was a boy, "May my child be strong and healthy", "May sickness always pass him by", "May he be a good hunter", "May he be wealthy" etc., and if a girl, "May she be good at work","May she be good at making embroidery" etc. He prayed for whatever he desired for the child in the way of health and accomplishments, etc.

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PUBERTY OF GIRLS

The attainment of puberty was considered the most critical and important period in a girl's life. What she did at this period would effect her future life and ensure her good luck or the reverse. She therefore at this time had to undergo a period of careful training to make her lucky and fit her to become a useful woman and esteemed member of the tribe.

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Pubescence was considered a "great mystery". At this first budding out of womanhood girls were believed to be endowed with certain supernatural powers over persons and things the misuse of which might do very great harm both to themselves and people in general.

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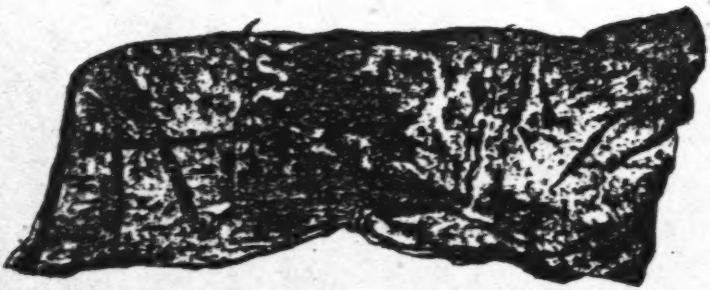

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[end plate 19]

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Upper Liard

verbal directions.[26] Separated groups of travelers who had need to communicate with each other did so by means of a limited repertory of smoke signals like these: One smoke, "we have killed game"; two smokes, "come over here"; three or four smokes, "we have had an accident (or trouble)."

Men and women packed goods but characteristically women carried the heavier loads. Only lines were utilized in packing, pack sticks being unknown. Pack lines consisted of four-ply braided babiche line. In supporting a back load the line passed along the outside of the arms below the shoulders and proceeded around the top of the head slightly in front of the vertex. If a heavy load caused pack lines to slip down the arms, a padding of moss was added. Men carried small game by tying one end of a packline around the head and the other around the rear legs of the animal. Fowl were transported in sacks of fine, netted babiche lined with babiche hide. Tanned skin bags up to three feet square held clothing and meat in transport. The colon of an animal, closed at one end by sewing, provided a handy container for small tools. Berries and meat were held for short periods in birch-bark baskets. Dogs rarely packed goods prior to European contact. In the spring a pack dog's feet could be protected from crusted snow by moose-skin dog shoes in which small holes allowed the claws to project. Horses remained unseen until 1898.

In the absence of bark-chair baby carriers a woman transported her infant in a moose-skin bag lined with deep moss, the baby facing away from the mother. The bag hung against the mother's back supported by tanned-skin line. In winter a layer of fur lined the moss bag and insulated the child from the bitter cold. Following infancy children rode pick-a-back fashion on the mother's back, supported with a baby strap that passed around the outside of the woman's arms and was tied under her chin. A shawl of animal pelts, tanned with the hair on, provided protection from low temperature.

Several early travelers have remarked on the casual use of water transportation in the early post-contact period. Thus McConnell reports that the Indians "are very inferior canoemen, and are afraid to venture on the river except in its smoothest places. They seldom ascend the river with canoes, as they prefer to carry their outfits along the shore to tracking a boat against a rapid current, and in descending use small spruce bark canoes which they build in a couple of hours and abandon without much loss."[27] Pike writes, "the Cascas and Liard Indians are poor boatmen, and do not make much use of the waterways, preferring to pack heavy loads through the woods to working a canoe upstream; while, if they wish to run down a river, they can make a bark or skin canoe in a few hours, and lose nothing by throwing it away at the end of the run. The birch on the Upper Liard does not grow to a sufficient size to supply bark suitable for canoes so much used on the lower part of the river."[28]

[26] Among the Chilkat Tlingit there were true cardinal directions that took their names from the winds. Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast* (1950), 204.

[27] McConnell, *Report on an Exploration in the Yukon and Mackenzie Basins* (1890), 35D.

[28] Pike, *Through the Subarctic Forest* (1896), 81–82. Along the Pelly River this author "often noticed rafts tied upon the banks, evidently used by the Indians for crossing. . . . It is curious that they do not use canoes on such easily navigable streams, but prefer to pack a load on their backs and make a straight course for their hunting-grounds, crossing and recrossing the main stream to cut off a detour" (204).

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vehicle. Women as well as men drew the toboggans, a harness for this purpose consisting of one moose-hide line passing around the outside of the arms and around the chest while another cord passed over the top of the head.

Snowshoe types included the round or Loucheux style (said to have been preferable because of its lighter weight) as well as the pointed variety. Function determined the length of these appliances, long shoes being best adapted for a hunter's swift travel in deep snow. Small shoes served well to break trail for a toboggan. In case of emergency a man made temporary snowshoes by bending and lashing a willow pole, which he then filled with heavy babiche line. Children usually employed such crude snowshoes throughout the winter. The customary division of labor appeared, a man constructing the framework while a woman applied the filling. Bone snowshoe needles contained a concave depression at one end that served to push the line between closely laid strands of filling.

In any season the order to travel required men to walk ahead of women, a pattern that allowed them to break trail for the women and children. Blazes consisted of willow and other branches broken in the direction taken. Sometimes men hung moss in the branches of a tree, laid down stones to indicate a course, or cut the trunks of trees with a caribou-horn adz. A single tree felled by fire provided a convenient bridge. Occasionally more complex spans containing a number of poles provided safer means for crossing a stream. The tump line facilitated packing and pack sticks remained unknown. Baby packs consisted of tanned skin padded with moss. In this container the child faced away from the mother. When old enough to leave the moss bag a youngster rode facing the mother on the latter's back supported by a baby strap that was passed around the outside of the arms and tied in front of the woman's breast. Such belts were often decorated with porcupine-quill embroidery. Bark baby carriers were not made.

For communication between traveling groups, the Indians sometimes made use of smoke signals, a single smoke calling attention to a game kill. Also runners might be sent to invite people to the scene of a kill, young men being able to cover 20 miles by running in a single day. Picture writing or drum language were both lacking.

For water transportation the Dease River people relied on rafts, moose-skin boats (which occasionally reached a length of 20 feet), dugouts, and spruce-bark canoes. A raft contained the necessary number of poles lashed to crosspieces with tanned-skin line. Pointing the bow gave the craft greater speed. An earthen fireplace was often situated somewhat forward on a pointed raft, but people invariably spent nights on shore in the course of traveling. Two varieties of spruce-bark canoes may be distinguished, small vessels serving one or two hunters and larger boats for traveling. The bark was sewn to the framework with spruce root line. Decked canoes, sails, or canoes traveling in pairs could not be recalled for the pre-contact period. Men cut paddles from spruce wood. Rounded handles were denied for these implements, the informant claiming that the upper end of the shaft contained a crosspiece on which the canoer fastened his grip. Such crutch-like handles must have resembled the type in use on the Northwest Coast. A ridge was left on the center of the blade, the edges of which might be decorated with notches burned into the wood.

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with notches burned into the wood. One man believed that double paddles had been employed a very long time ago.[58]

Tselona. Babies were secured in fully tanned moose-hide bags lined with moss. In winter an inner lining of muskrat skin came to be added to these containers. Park-chair baby carriers could not be recalled. After a year or two a baby strap supplanted the baby bag and the child now supported itself on the mother's back. In camp a baby slept in a tanned-skin hammock.

[58] A white trapper writes of bull boats consisting of "twenty-five to thirty skins" in use among the Mountain Indians. Onraet, *Sixty Below* (1949), 61.

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291 into non-detachable mittens, in which case the sleeves of the garment were provided with a lacing located under the armpits. By undoing these ties a person could free his arm from the sleeves when he required greater freedom of movement for the performance of camp tasks. Considerable care went into the manufacture of a parka, the task being accomplished with the use of a stretching frame over which the finished article was mounted.[19] Inside the garment, next to the stomach, a pocket of caribou hide held [531] feather duffel that contributed to warmth. Decoration consisted primarily of porcupine-quill work. Belonging perhaps to an earlier period of history than the parka was the waist-length winter coat made of skins tanned with the hair and worn with the fur innermost. Open down the front, such coats closed at the throat with "stick buttons." Another variation in winter dress consisted of coat and trouser combinations. Trouser and moccasin combinations were not limited to winter but were never donned for hunting. Winter moccasins covered feet that had first been wrapped in rabbit skin. Often moose hairs or dry grass lined the bottoms of winter footgear in order to secure greater insulation from the cold. Both sexes wore leggings, those of the man reaching to the knee and those of a woman ending somewhat lower. It is not clear if leggings constituted winter garb. Around camp in winter people wore mittens of caribou hide tanned with the hair on, while the parka and mitten combination garment made satisfactory apparel for traveling.

854 Young children beginning to walk wore a shirt of caribou skin reaching to below the
291 stomach. Infants who spent a great deal of time in the moss bag needed no garment other than that container. In winter baby bags were doubled and interlined with eider-down. Around the baby's feet the mother wrapped rabbit skin. In winter moss to absorb the infant's excretions was always warmed prior to being placed next to the child's body.

291 A variety of headgear appears characteristic of the aboriginal period. In winter men (who lacked a parka?) enjoyed hats of woven spruce roots lined with feathers and provided with ear flaps of fur that tied under the chin. If a traveler grew warm from strenuous walking he could throw back the hat without undoing the chin ties, thus letting the article dangle in back of his neck. Skin from the head of the caribou furnished another type of headgear used by men. Both sexes wore hats of beaver or other skin with flaps extending below the ears to tie under the chin. Here a piece of rabbit skin might be placed for additional warmth. Bird skin, perhaps from the loon, supplied material for caps worn by men, women, and children. In winter they too reached below the ears. A strip of birch bark, an inch or two wide, sewn to form a circle and covered with smoked skin, provided a boy's hat. This item may have been a relatively recent novelty.[20]

531 Various techniques of clothing decoration undoubtedly enjoyed simultaneous popu-
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[19] The sketch which the informant drew of such a frame closely resembles the frame made by the Ingalik Indians. Osgood, *Ingalik Material Culture* (1940), 253, Fig. 108.

[20] Novelty hats remain popular among the Kaska and adjoining Tahltan. A person who has worked among both the Northern Athapaskan and Northern Algonkians is quickly struck by the monotony of headgear among the latter, where almost every man and boy wears the peaked cap in every season. Professor Osgood, who pointed out to us the Northern Athapaskan's taste for varied headgear, remarked that the Indians of the Northwest Coast also reveal a considerable variety of hat styles.

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as fully as possible during the period immediately following birth. Lounging during the first ten days or so after delivery might canalize a man toward that kind of life.[5] 846

Wiped clean with moss the newborn baby was wrapped in a plaited rabbit skin robe. After 24 hours it first received the breast. Two considerations explained the delay in feeding. Immediate nursing of a newborn baby could be fatal because its stomach was still weak. Even when the child suckled for the first time, people took care that it received only enough milk "to wet his mouth." In the second place, the colostrum did not constitute suitable food in the minds of the Indians. Hence the substance was expressed on the ground by massage, a process in which the lactating woman was aided by a companion. In contrast to the colostrum breast milk must never be allowed to touch the ground, lest no milk would flow for a subsequent baby. When it became necessary to clear swollen breasts people collected the expressed milk in a gut container, which they cached in a tree. To "teach" a young infant to nurse, the mother brushed the nipple against its lips until the sucking started, whereupon she might offer further help by lightly squeezing her breast. The Kaska believed that mother's milk originated from ingested food and liquids. Meat stock and grease could increase the supply and nursing women had fat meat and grease urged upon them. If after three days of trying a woman lacked sufficient milk to content her child, she might solicit another woman to act as wet nurse. However, a nurse's milk was less beneficent than the mother's so that a baby fed through this means did not grow rapidly. Animal brain mixed with water was sometimes used as a substitute for milk, for example, in event of a mother's illness. Unless prevented by the mother's illness or pregnancy a child nursed for about three years. Weaning at that age was advisable because it would prevent the child from drawing blood from its mother's breast. An older sibling never shared the breast with a subsequent baby. Displacement of this kind not infrequently stirred up aggression toward a younger sibling, behavior that earned reproach but never corporal punishment. To assist weaning a mother sometimes forced the child's lip into its mouth with the nipple, repeating the act until all inclination to nurse disappeared. Beginning at about the age of two a child received fat to suck. After that feeding regularly included a little ground (pre-chewed?) meat. 862

A baby spent all of its time with the mother. Should the latter die, any woman might be asked to look after the child until it was grown. Then the child returned to its father who paid the foster mother for her care. It is likely that a woman's sisters provided foster motherhood and wet nursing when such needs arose and from these women a widower also secured a new spouse. Naming occurred when the child began to speak (earlier according to another informant). Either the father or mother assigned a suitable name and one that rarely reflected any special proclivity or trait of 854 553

[5] It is likely that a man's activity at this time served functions analogous to those realized by the couvade, namely, that the father "counter-balanced in this way his loss of participation in the birth." (Shimkin, *Childhood and Development among the Wind River Shoshone* [1947], 21.) The Chilkat Tlingit also secluded the parturient in a special birth hut. For four days the mother ate and drank little but remained in bed for twelve days. Hunting and work were avoided by her husband. Drucker, *Cultural Element Distribution: XXVI, Northwest Coast* (1950), 205-207.

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the youngster. Instead the choice of a name depended on the whim of the parents. This name was retained until adolescence. Teknonymy was not admitted.*

For a year and a half or two years the moss bag served for carrying the baby. In this container he could also be hung from the lower branches of a tree and rocked. Following discontinuance of the baby pack children up to four continued to wear a knee-length dress or coat, a moose-hide diaper lined with moss. Trousers for a boy followed the achievement of cleanliness training. Before verbal instruction in the use of the bush came to be given, tailoring habits were inculcated with the aid of a moss-lined bark vessel. In summer a child who had been released from the moss bag slept in a cradle swing. In winter for greater protection against cold he passed the night alongside his mother. Babies received encouragement to crawl but were not allowed to stand erect too early for fear of injuring the limbs. Nobody discouraged finger sucking and the "black dirt" collecting on the surface of the baby's palm was regarded as "baby food." A mother removed a loose milk tooth by pinching it between index finger and thumb. With the tooth she then described a circle on the crown of the child's head, repeating the formula, "Rabbit teeth, rabbit teeth." The rite promoted the rapid duplication of the lost organ. The extracted tooth ended up cached in the split of a dead tree. If it were discarded on the ground future teeth would grow in at wrong places. Young children amused themselves with bull-roarers, the blades of which were often decorated with charcoal or animal blood designs, bone toys, twirled on rawhide lines, and simple swings. Dolls did not constitute playthings.

Kaska parents did not neglect disciplining in the event of a child failing to take over socially approved habits. Discipline ideally attached to the like-sexed parent, although manifestly the mother exerted more authority because she was in constant interaction with the young child. If toilet training did not occur in a reasonable time, a child's hands might be lightly whipped with a willow switch. Disgust for the body wastes was also inculcated. Children of the same sex could urinate and defecate together in the bush but children of opposite sex were early prohibited this degree of intimacy. Lying brought about whipping, while truthfulness won praise for its magical association with future hunting ability. A girl who stole might be hung by the feet and whipped on her legs. Only women witnessed this punishment. A father beat his son for theft. A child of either sex who stole might have an awl point pressed against the fingers or ears. A too aggressive boy received whippings with a length of braided fabric. People felt that a boy who showed early aggressive tendencies would become cowardly when he matured. Children were dissuaded from sex play by parents pointing out how it threatened a boy's hunting prowess and could cause a girl's death. Sexual curiosity met the warning, "Your eyes are going to be blind." A masturbator's hands were whipped with a willow switch.

Sex typing received serious attention in late childhood. A youth of 12 began to accompany his father hunting and so learned to track, ambush, and butcher game and became familiar with the habits of animals. A girl continued to spend much time with her mother, who encouraged feminine pursuits. Girls were dissuaded from playing with

*Teknonymy has been reported for the Tlingit. Jones, *Study of the Tlingits of Alaska* (1914), 57.

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approach to problems of adaptation to which traditional solutions cannot be readily applied.

A basic anxiety conditioning relatively low resistance to traumatic situations develops primarily from the relationship of the Kaska mother to her child. In the first two years of life the infant receives extremely favorable treatment. The mother responds readily to the baby's discomforts; crying is quickly rewarded, while affection and attention are consistently displayed. Between two and three years of age the mother's behavior undergoes a change. Whether or not another baby is born, the mother becomes emotionally more remote and self-occupied and her relationship to the child becomes one that is best described as emotional rejection. Crying is scolded, and demands for affection to which the child has become accustomed are ignored. It is not unusual to see four- and five-year-old children who have been hurt crying by themselves rather than seeking emotional comfort from a parent or other adult. Thus from a period of affectional demonstrativeness the Kaska mother returns to the pattern of emotional aloofness that is characteristic of most interpersonal relationships within the society. This hiatus in development sets up a number of dynamics in the child's personality but the only one with which we are concerned is a deep-seated anxiety and feeling of insecurity toward the world, leading to an ambivalent attitude toward all intense emotional relationships.[6] This basic anxiety remains with the individual throughout life and is responsible for the inadequate strength of the Kaska ego when confronted by crises.

At the time of the witch-fear outbreaks the Kaska found their survival imperiled. This threat came from several sources which have already been mentioned; the influx of strangers had upset the balance of game, new illnesses were introduced, and an adequate standard of living was coming to depend heavily upon the intensive trapping of skins to exchange for the white man's foodstuffs. All of these changes presented problems of existence for which traditional solutions were inadequate. Hunting required additional effort and was accompanied by more uncertainty than ever before while the belief in the efficacy of charms, songs for luck, and other hunting ceremonials had disappeared; illness, for which the Kaska were never well equipped, was increasing while native therapeutics, notably the belief in shamanism, had already broken down. Trapping required degrees of foresight, initiative, effort, and long-range planning for which the Indians were (and still are) psychologically unprepared. On the other hand, the rewards of trapping, the most important of which was an adequate supply of food that would reduce the necessity of hunting, were unattainable so long as this ability was not efficiently

[6] These conclusions are well demonstrated in the Rorschach situation in which the Kaska subject displays an intense fear of the close interpersonal relationship that administration of the test presents to him, a pronounced reluctance to respond to internal and external emotional stimuli (color shock), low movement responses, and deep-seated primary anxiety (shading shock).